

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMA 4376

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SUBJECT: APRA AND THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT

REF: LIMA 4300, LIMA 4033

SUMMARY: PRESIDENT MORALES BERMUDEZ' APRIL 30 GESTURE OF RECONCILIATION WITH APRA MAY NOT HAVE REFLECTED A CONSENSUS OF VISS HELD WITHIN THE ARMY. WHEN APRA LEADER HAYA DE LA TORRE ON MAY 7 ONCE AGAIN DEMANDED ELECTIONS, THE GOP IMMEDIATELY REACTED BY ANNOUNCING ANOTHER PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS (TO BE GIVEN MAY 13). APRA LEADERS FEAR THAT ANTI-APRA MILITARY OFFICERS MAY INFLUENCE MORALES BERMUDEZ, AND APRA IS ATTEMPTING TO SIGNAL MORALES BERMUDEZ THAT APRA FULLY RECIPROCATES HIS GETURE. MORALES BERMUDEZ' SPEECH MAY PLACE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN PERSPECTIVE BY RESTATING THE GOP POSITION ON ELECTIONS AND REDEFINING WHAT IT WILL PERMIT IN THE PARAMETERS OF POLITICAL DIALOGUE. ALTHOUGH HE IS NOT EXPECTED TO RETREAT FROM THE RECONCILIATION DECISION, HE MAY CRITICIZE CIVILIAN POLITICAL GROUPS AND DECLARE THE MILGOV'S COMMITMENT TO RETAIN POWER UNTIL THE GOALS OF THE REVOLUTION ARE ACCOMPLISHED. END SUMMARY.

1. PRESIDENT MORALES BERMUDEZ' APRIL 30 CALL FOR RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE ARMY AND THE APRA PARTY SEEMS TO HAVE INITIATED A PERIOD OF SOMEWHAT DELICATE POLITICAL MANEUVERING INVOLVING
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FACTIONS WITHIN THE MILITARY, APRA, AND OTHER CIVILIAM

POLITICAL GROUPS. MORALES BERMUDEZ' TRUJILLO ANNOUNCEMENT WAS DELIVERATELY PHRASED. RECONCILIATION WITH APRA (NOT MENTIONED BY NAME) WAS CLEARLY INTENDED. DIALOGUE WITH APRA AND AN INVITATION TO APRA TO JOIN IN SUPPORTING THE MILITARY- RUN REVOLUTION WAS IMPLIED. A SHARING OF POLITICAL POWER WITH APRA HOWEVER, WAS NEITHER SUGGESTED NOR IMPLIED.

2. EVEN THIS CAREFULLY CIRUCMSCRIBED MORALES BERMUDEZ ANNOUNCEMENT WAS A CLEAR BREAK WITH ARMY TRADITION AND THEREFORE INVOLVED A LIMITED POLITICAL RISK FOR MORALES BERMUDEZ. IS WAS ALMOST CERTAINLY MADE WITHOUT A FULL, FAVORABLE CONSENSUS OF VIEWS ON THE PART OF THE ARMY. INFLUENTIAL ARMY OFFICERS FROM GENERALS TO CAPTAINS ARE SAID TO HAVE TPPOSED THE RECONCILIATION, AND THE OPPOSING VIEW MAY HAVE BEEN FORCEFULLY EXPRESSED BY PRIME MINISTER FERNANDEZ MALDONADO WHO, LESS THAN ONE YEAR AGO, DENOUNCED APRA AS THE REVOLUTION'S NUMBER ONE ENEMY. ON THIS ISSUE, SUPPORT FOR THE FERNANDEZ MALDONADO VIEW NO DOUBT CUTS ACROSS NORMAL RADICAL VERSUS MODERATE POSITIONS.

3. THE HAYA DE LA TORRE MAY 7 REPLY TO MORALES BERMUDEZ, WHICH WELCOMED RECONCILIATION BUT REITERATED APRA'S DEMAND FOR ELECTIONS AND BLAMED MUCH OF PERU'S ECONOMIC TROUBLES ON MILGOV MISHANDLING, WAS PROBABLY CONSIDERED BY THOSE AGAINST THE "OPENING TOWARD APRA" AS CONFIRMATION THAT APRA IS STILL AN ENEMY OF THE REVOLUTION, IN HIS SPEECH HAYA MADE SEVERAL SARCASTIC OF THE CUFF, REMARKS ABOUT THE MILITARY. THESE APPARENTLY ELICITED AN EMOTIONAL NEGATIVE RESPONSE IN CERTAIN ARMY CIRCLES. SOME POLITICAL OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT MORALES BERMUDEZ WAS PLACED IN A DIFFICULT POSITION BY THE HAYA SPEECH AND THE INCREASED ELECTIONEERING OF CIVILIAN GROUPS, INCLUDING ACCION POPULAR SHICH IS SCHEDULED TO HOLD ITS NATIONAL CONGRESS MAY 28. FORMER

PRESIDENT BELAUNDE IS EXPECTED TO ARRIVE IN LIMA MAY 15 AND SUBSEQUENTLY TO EMBARK ON A POLITICAL TRIP THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

4. IN ORDER TO PLACE RECENT POLITICAL POSTURING IN REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE, PRESIDENT MARALES BERMUDEZ ANNOUNCED THAT HE WOULD ADDRESS THE NATION MAY 13 (LIMA 4300). THE PRESIDENT IS EXPECTED TO DESCRIBE HIS REGIME'S VIEWS ON THE PARAMETERS OF POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH APRA AND OTHER PARTIES. WHILE HE MAY OUTLINE

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NEW "MORE PARTICIPATIONIST" FORMS OF DESIGNATING MUNICIPAL LEADERS (EMG. MAYORS SHOULD BE LOCAL RESIDENTS, WITH LIKELY DISABUSE POLITICAL PARTIES OF THEIR NOTION THAT A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OR GENERAL ELECTIONS ARE TO BE HELD SOON.

5. SENSITIVE TO AN ANTI-APRA REACTION IN THE ARMY FOLLOWING HAYA'S SPEECH, APRA HAS ATTEMPTED TO CORRECT "PERCEIVED MISIN-

TERPRETATIONS". THE DAILY LA PRENSA, WHOSE DIRECTOR IS THE BROTHER OF THE INTERIOR MINISTER AND WHICH IS CONSIDERED TO REFLECT MODERATE GOP VIEWS, AIDED IN THIS TASK BY CARRYING AN INTERVIEW WITH HAYA DE LA TORRE (THE FIRST INTERVIEW EVER ACCORDED TO HAYA BY SECTORIZED PRESS) AND BY PUBLISHING THE FULL TEXT OF HAYA'S SPEECH. PUBLICATION OF TH TEXT MAY BE INTENDED TO PLACE

HAYA'S DEMAND FOR ELECTIONS AND HIS OTHER COMMENTS IN A TOTAL CONTEXT OF RECONCILIATION AND NATIONAL UNITY. IN THE PRESS INTERVIEW, HAYA STRESSED THE "VERY POSITIVE" GESTURE OF MORALES BERMUDEZ. HE ATTEMPTED TO DEMONSTRATE THE NATURAL AFFINITY BETWEEN APRA AND THE ARMY (E.G., SAYING THAT THEY COME FROM THE SAME SOCIAL CLASS) AND HE STATED THAT THE ARMY WOULD ALWAYS RETAIN AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL ROLE. HAYA DECLARED THAT THE ONLY

ENEMIES OF APRA WERE "THE RIGHT AND COMMUNISM" SHILE "OUR ALLIES ARE THE FORCES COMMITTED TO THE COUNTRY'S REVOLUTIONARY INTERESTS".

6. APRA DECLARATIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS MAY CONDITION THE TONE OF MORALES BERMUDEZ' MAY 13 REJOINDER. HOWEVER, HE MAY STILL "PUT APRA IN ITS PLACE" AND ANSWER INTERNAL ARMY CRITICISM BY DEFINING THE LIMITED EXTENT OF THE TRUJILLO RECONCILIATION STATEMENT. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS BOTH THE GOP AND APRA MAY BE MORE COMFORTABLE WITH A LIMITED DIALOGUE WHICH EXCLUDES APRA PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENTAL DICISSIONS. THE MILGOV IS PROBABLY NOT READY TO SHARE POWER WITH CIVILIANS, LEAST OF ALL WITH APRA, AND REMAINS EXTREMELY WARY OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. PARA, FOR ITS PART, CAN REMAIN UNSULLIED BY POLITICAL COMPROMISE ON MILGOV TERMS WHILE IT AWAITS THE DAY WHEN MILGOV INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS AND POLICY FAILURES MAY FORCE THE MILIATRY TO RETURN TO THE BARRACKS.
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